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N^o 200.

A Letter to Caleb D'Anvers, Esq; on the doleful Subject of his Craftsman of the 7th Instant. — The Necessity of a Change in the Ministry.

Dear S I R,



T calls for Pity and Compassion in every Breast, to see you almost daily, in *Craftsmen*, and in *Pamphlets*, fighting and beating the Air! Are you never to be at Peace, till you are in your Grave? Can no Condition or Situation of Publick Affairs, no Change of Circumstances make you

easy and satisfied? Whilst the War continued, what terrible Fears and Apprehensions were you under, lest your poor Country should be dragged into it? Now the War is at an End, and a publick National Joy has diffused itself throughout the whole Kingdom, are you more at Rest? are you a Partaker in this Joy? No! Others may rejoice, if they please, at this fortuitous Event, this unexpected Turn of Affairs. 'But you look farther into the Causes of Things: You wisely consider, that Providence may not always deliver us: Whilst the same Causes remain, the same or worse Calamities may befall us.' It is this Consideration alone, that has extorted from you this sage and honest Advice to your Prince.

It sometimes happens, that a Prince is so far engaged in Measures, which he finds to be wrong, that he is quite at a Loss how to extricate himself; but if he should be *Providentially* work'd out of his Difficulties, when he had the least Reason to expect it; he would certainly take such an Opportunity of establishing himself in the Hearts of his Subjects, by giving up his Evil Counsellors to Justice, and not run the Hazard of being involved in the same dishonourable Circumstances, by trusting the Reins of Government in their Hands again. — *Craftsman of Saturday the 7th Instant.*

You will not deny, that you intend by this to intimate to your Prince, — 'What Difficulties and Dangers he was involved in by the late War: — How hard it was to extricate himself out of them; — that these Difficulties were brought upon him by those Measures, which his Ministry advised and pursued; — that he was at last *Providentially* delivered out of them, — and consequently, that now is the Time to give up these Evil Counsellors to Justice, and never to trust the Reins of Government in their Hands again, as the only Means to establish him in the Hearts of his Subjects.'

THESE are the Instructions, this the Lesson, you take upon you to lay before your Prince; tho' by your usual decent Behaviour, as will appear in the Sequel of this Discourse, towards your Prince, at the same time you would pretend to be his Friend, you plainly discover, — that you despond of being able to make good this Charge, or to satisfy your Prince, that he ought never more to trust the Reins of Government in the Hands of these Evil Counsellors.

If I should ask you, — How you have proved these Things, which you lay to the Charge of these Evil Counsellors? No doubt, I shall be answered, — That this is demonstrably made appear in your *Considerations on the present Plan of Peace*; wherein you have shewn, — 'That the Ministers knew nothing of the Peace, till it was absolutely concluded between France and the Emperor; and consequently, that they had no Share or Merit in this Transaction, and ought not to be entrusted any longer with the Reins of Government.'

LET me then ask you farther, — Have you so much as pretended, by any Sort of Intelligence, to be acquainted with the secret Transactions and Negotiations, by which this Peace was carried on and concluded? So far from it, — 'That you confess, you have been let into no Secrets whatsoever of this Kind.' This favours not a little of Absurdity and Contradiction, — that you should certainly know the *true* Causes of this Peace,

without knowing any thing, *how*, or *where*, or *when*, or by *whom* this Peace was transacted.

How then have you attained to this Knowledge?

Why, in the first Place, we are let to know, — 'That our Ministers were frighted out of their Wits, when they first heard of this Peace being concluded.' If I should ask you farther, How you know they were so terribly alarmed? No doubt you will answer me, — 'You saw their Fear and Surprise in their Countenances.' Or, 'That some trusty Friend of your's, who observed their Looks nearer and more closely, than you had an Opportunity to do at that Time, assured you, — they look'd damnably frightened upon the first News of the Peace.' Is not this Demonstration?

THE next Argument, by which you prove, — 'That the Ministry knew nothing of this Transaction, till the Whole was concluded,' is, — 'That a certain foreign Minister, who had resided here for some Years, was on a sudden recalled, for revealing this Secret of a Peace being concluded between the Emperor and France, before the Ministry here knew any thing of the Matter.' *Idem.*

HERE are three Things asserted, which you prove after this excellent Manner. As first, a certain Minister was recalled, of which we have not the least Proof, but — 'That he left the Kingdom at that Time.' Next, 'This Minister was recalled, for blabbing out this Secret;' the only Proof of which is, — 'That you were told this.' And in the last Place, 'This Minister was recalled for blabbing out this Secret, before our Ministry knew any thing of the Matter;' all the Proof of which is, — 'That you knew nothing of the Matter, before this Minister blabbed it out.' *Idem.*

ERGO. THE Ministry could know nothing of this Peace having been transacted, or being concluded, before that Minister blabbed it out.

YOUR next Argument to prove, — 'That the Ministry knew nothing of this Peace, till it was actually and absolutely concluded,' is, — 'That it plainly appears, a certain aged, over-cautious Minister, rather than run any farther Hazard, chose to accept of any Expedient from the Emperor, without communicating it to Us, to save the Honour of France and King Stanislaus.' For if this had not been the Case, — 'The Duke of Berwick would have been order'd to take the Elector of Bavaria by the Hand, to have over-run the Empire, and place that Prince on the Throne of Vienna.' *Idem.*

NOW, I must confess, it seems a little strange and unaccountable to me, — that, if this aged, over-cautious Minister had so much Vigour as to encourage him to enter into this War; and if it was so feasible a Project, so easily to be executed, as you, Sir, represent it to be, to place the Elector of Bavaria on the Throne of Vienna, — it does not appear very consistent, — that this aged Minister should not see this was so easy to be done, and that he should not enter into the War, purely with a View and Design to execute this. And if he did see this, and this made him enter into the War, — is it not a little strange and unaccountable, that all on a sudden, he should lose his Vigour and Courage, be afraid to run any Hazard, lay aside this Design of placing the Elector of Bavaria on the Throne of Vienna; and that he should accept of a ridiculous Expedient, (for so you call it) proposed to him by the Emperor, to save the Honour of France and King Stanislaus? And this without any fresh Motives or Incidents arising, and working upon his aged, over-cautious Temper, to induce him to lay aside this Design of placing the Elector of Bavaria on the Throne of Vienna, and make him afraid to run any farther Hazard. *Idem.*

It is impossible, Sir, you should think this. What a Shame then must it be to argue after this Manner? What an irresistible Conviction to every ingenious Mind, that you are reduced very low in Argument indeed, when you can dispute Things, which are as clear as the Light of the Sun at Noon Day. — I mean, that it is impossible to suppose this aged Minister could conclude this Peace, without being influenced by the strong Intimations made to him by our Ministers, and by the Resolution we manifested to all the World, from the vigorous Measures we entered into, — That we would go into the War ourselves, which must make it

become General, if no other Measures or Persuasions could prevail with France to hearken to Terms of Peace.

ESPECIALLY if it be true, Sir, what you lay down, and build all your Reasoning upon; — 'That the over-cautious Temper of this aged Minister made him afraid to run any farther Hazard, and to accept of any ridiculous Expedient to save the Honour of France and King Stanislaus.' *Idem.*

I will not say, — are these Things probable? But, do they not carry their own Conviction along with them? — Or, is it possible that any other Motive, but an unalterable, determined Resolution (to speak the best and most favourably of it) to destroy the present Ministry, could prevail with you to deny, that our Negotiations and vigorous Measures had such an Influence upon this aged Minister?

YOUR last Argument to prove, — 'That the Ministry knew nothing of the transacting of this Peace, and that they have no Share or Merit in the Conclusion of it,' is, — 'That his Majesty does not expressly tell us, that the Influence of the Crown of Great Britain, and the Respect due to this Nation, have had any Share in composing the present Troubles of Europe; — but only declares, 1st the Crown has had this Influence, &c.'

YOU think, — 'That if the Crown of Great Britain had really this Influence, his Majesty would plainly, and in express Words, have told us so;' and 'that he would not have his People understand, that, by his expressing himself after this Manner, — IF it were so, — he intended to tell them, that it really was so.'

YOU tell us, Sir, — 'you write for the Sake of the People in the Country, to disabuse them, and to prevent their being imposed upon.' For God's Sake, Sir, who, or what sort of Creatures do you suppose the People in the Country to be? I am inclined to believe, from your being so little conversant with them; and your Time being wholly taken up in writing Pamphlets and Craftsman, you imagine them to be as ignorant as the very Beasts that draw your Coach. How long will you go on to treat the People in this Manner? Till they treat you, as a Madman or an incendiary?

DOES it require any great Depth of Politicks, even for People in the Country, to know, — that it was wise and prudent for his Majesty to express himself after this Manner in his Speech from the Throne? Is it not enough, — that the Influence of the Crown of Great Britain, and the Respect due to this Nation, have had this Effect? — But it must be declared from the Throne, as it were in Scorn and Triumph over the united Powers.

IN TRUTH, Sir, — I am astonished at your Ignorance, or your inveterate Rage and Malice, let it proceed from which it will. In common Conversation, and even in strict Reasoning and Argument, how usual is this Expression, — IF I know any thing of the Matter? — Or, IF such a Thing be true, &c. when the Person that speaks so plainly, intends, — 'that he does know such a Thing of a Certainty,' — or, 'that such a Thing is certainly true.'

AND may not the very same Manner of speaking, and with the same Propriety, be made use of from the Throne, and be understood by all in the same Sense? Or can you think, that any one Man besides yourself, did not understand his Majesty to mean, tho' it was not prudent to say so in express Terms, — 'That the Influence of the Crown of Great Britain, and the Respect due to this Nation, had a very great Share in composing the present Troubles of Europe.'

BUT, to do your Understanding Justice, you cannot but believe this yourself; and can you think, Sir, — after such egregious Trifling as this, after so notoriously giving yourself the Lye, — that you deserve the least Credit when you make any such Declarations as these, — 'That you have no Spleen or Resentment against a particular Minister; — that you rejoice in the present Prospect of Peace; — and that you have the Interest of your Country, and the Welfare of Mankind truly at Heart?' *Idem.*

THE People in the Country must be greater Brutes than their Flocks and their Herds, to be imposed upon by such treacherous, outside Shew as this; and I wish, Sir,

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Sir, I could think, — that your Spleen and Resentment did not extend to other Persons — besides a particular Minister.

THESE, Sir, are the chief, if not the only Arguments you have brought in your Observations on the present Plan of Peace, to convince People in the Country, — That the Ministry had no Share or Merit in the present Peace.

A Work truly worthy of a modern Patriot! Worthy of the Man who puts himself at the Head of the Patriot Tribe! But a Work, I fear, Sir, that, instead of imposing upon the People in the Country, or establishing your Credit and Reputation with them, must, for ever, sink you in their Esteem, and effectually convince them, — That such is your Spleen and Resentment against a particular Minister, that rather than the People in the Country should believe the Respect due to the Crown, and to this Nation, have had any Influence upon any of the Courts of Europe, you will condescend to make use of the most trifling Arguments, to be guilty of the most gross Contradictions and Inconsistencies, and even to curpat, and explain a Passage in his Majesty's Speech, in the most low, trifling Manner, and in direct Contradiction to Truth and all common Sense.

THESE, Sir, are the Arts, Arguments I cannot call them, by which you would vainly hope to persuade your Prince, — 'That he has been engaged in Measures which he must know to be wrong; — that he is Providentially worked out of Difficulties when he had the least Reason to expect it; — that he ought to take this Opportunity of establishing himself in the Hearts of his Subjects, by giving up his evil Counsellors to Justice, and not run the Hazard of being involved in the same dishonourable Circumstances, by not trusting the Reins of Government in their Hands again.' *Craftsman of the 7th Instant.*

To all which Ribaldry, and unjust and insolent Accusations, I shall say no more than this, — that I doubt not but his Majesty will continue to pursue such Measures as shall convince the World, that he is not to be menaced or terrified from rewarding those who have approved themselves, throughout the whole Course of their Ministry, and particularly in that Share they have had in composing the present Troubles in Europe, his most faithful and wise experienced Counsellors, as the only Means to establish him in the Hearts of his Subjects, to discountenance and discourage Faction, and to preserve the Influence of the Crown of Great Britain, and the Respect due to this Nation.

BUT lest this Abuse of his Majesty's Ministers should not be sufficient to prevail with his Majesty to discontinue them, — you proceed to examine the Arguments, that, you tell us, are commonly made use of by an odious Minister to divert his Master from such a Resolution. *Idem.*

THE first is, — 'That as Steadiness or Resolution in the Pursuit of just and right Measures, is certainly a laudable Quality in a Prince; this is a never-failing Topick in the Mouths of such Men, against any Alteration of his Measures or his Ministers; and because some wise Princes have been justly celebrated in History for supporting their Ministers against unjust Opposition, they infer, that it is always impolitic in a Prince to regard the Complaints of his People, and represent it as a Mark of Flexibility, beneath the Dignity of a great Prince.' *Idem.*

You confess, Sir, — 'That Steadiness or Resolution in a Prince against any Alteration of his Measures or his Ministers, is a laudable Quality, and what all wise Princes have been justly celebrated for in History.' And I take it for granted, that you will likewise acknowledge, — that there never was a Prince upon the Throne, in this or any other Nation, who continued the same Ministers for any long Course of Years, but it gave Occasion and Opportunity to a Faction to revile and calumniate those Ministers, tho' they pursued no other Measures than what were just and right.

THIS, Sir, then is all that is contended for; and therefore, till you can prove, — 'That the Measures pursued at present are not right and just,' — all your Talk — of confounding Steadiness with Obstinacy; — of the loud and open Complaints of a whole People; — of unpopular Ministers concealing this from the Ears of their Master; — and of King Charles the First's continuing the Duke of Buckingham against the frequent Remonstrances of Parliament. — Till you can prove, that the Ministers have pursued wrong Measures; that they were the Occasion of the late Disturbances in Europe; or that the Measures they advised, did not put an End to those Troubles: — Till you can prove these Things, all this empty Harangue of your's will pass for nothing but commonplace, idle Cant, equally applicable and adapted to the best as well as to the worst of Ministers.

ANOTHER Argument which, you tell us, is commonly made use of by an odious Minister to conceal the Truth from the Ears of his Master, is, — 'That a Prince is obliged in Honour to protect a Minister, who is grown obnoxious in his Service, and perhaps by obeying his Commands.'

AND here you ask these shrewd Questions, — 'What! is he obliged in Honour to protect a Man, who hath betrayed his Honour in the tenderest Points that can possibly affect a Prince, his Reputation in foreign Courts, and the good Opinion of his People at home?'

No, Sir. What Writer was ever so absurd as to affirm, — 'That such a Minister is to be protected?' It is incumbent upon you therefore to prove, — That any particular Minister, or the Ministry in general, have betrayed the Honour of their Master in these tender Points.

THIS you are so far from being able to prove, that you are forced to deny, without the least Shadow of Proof, — 'That the Ministry had any Share or Merit in composing the late Troubles in Europe;' so conscious are you, that, if this should gain Credit in the Country, it must be confessed by all. — And alas! Sir, you too well know, that it is already confessed by the Nation in general, — 'That the Ministry have consulted and established his Majesty's Honour and Reputation in the tenderest Points which can affect a Prince, his Reputation in foreign Courts, and the good Opinion of his People at home.'

AGAIN, you say, — 'Lest these Arguments should fail, a Minister in such desperate Circumstances will never fail to add, that his Opposers are Enemies to the King himself, and endeavour to persuade him, that whatever they may pretend, they mean nothing less than the Subversion of his Government.'

AND can you, Sir, have the Folly or the Assurance to complain of this, after all the personal Abuse and Ridicule, which you and your Coadjutors, — some of them the very Refuse of Mankind, taken into this dirty Service by yourself, — have thrown out, not only against the Prince on the Throne, but against his whole Royal Family; — and this not only in their publick Conduct, but even in private Life?

CAN you bring this Accusation against any particular Minister? or complain, — that he charges you unjustly 'with being an Enemy to the King himself; and that, whatever you may pretend, you mean nothing less than the Subversion of his Government?' — when, even in the same Breath, in the very same Paper that you accuse this Minister, you cannot refrain from discovering your true Design, — to wound your Prince thro' the Sides of his Minister.

FOR pray observe what follows: — 'The last Topick, say you, I shall mention of this Nature, is, that it reflects on the Wisdom of a Prince, to suppose him not qualified to judge of the Abilities or Integrity of his Ministers.' This is a plausible Argument, and no more; for the Sycophants who make use of it have this Advantage, that the weaker a Prince is, the surer are they of gaining his Credit when they call him wise, because nobody else will dare to contradict them. But a Prince of true Wisdom will never suffer himself to be cajoled by such gross Adulation.' *Idem.*

LET me ask you here; — Do not you, throughout this Libel, represent your Prince, as suffering himself to be cajoled by such gross Adulation? Do not you represent his Ministers, as being sure to gain his Credit, when they thus cajole him, and call him Wise? And is it not then too plain, what Inferences you intend to draw, when you say, and put it in Italicks, — 'That the weaker a Prince is, the surer his Ministers are of gaining his Credit, when they call him Wise; — and, that a Prince of true Wisdom will never suffer himself to be cajoled by such gross Adulation.'

THIS low, insolent Way of abusing the Prince on the Throne was never known amongst us, till you and your worthy Coadjutor, Bolingbroke, first introduced it.

IT is low, — because the meanest Capacity may, by the same vile Arts, ridicule and revile, not only the most Deserving and Exalted Character; but the most Sacred Persons and Things.

IT is insolent, — because the Lenity of the Government indulges you in it.

TO the same Purpose, and with the same View and Application do you recite a Story from Sir Richard Steele, to which I refer the Reader: And shall only recommend to you the Advice of an ingenious and facetious Writer, upon your quoting this Story. — 'I would advise you, Mr. D'Anvers, not to be so insufferably witty upon short-sighted People, whose Eyes are generally strong and lasting; and very capable of distinguishing the Object upon a closer View: But I

believe, the Quarrel, you have against the Family, is not because they see too little, but because they see too much.'

I shall conclude with this Observation and Advice to certain Gentlemen, — That it is surprising, that many worthy Gentlemen, who detest this personal Abuse of their Prince, should not be quick-sighted enough to discern, — what a dead Weight you are upon the Party, than to join themselves with a Man, — whose Conduct has been such, as to make him Desperate.

THIS they were convinced of at length, in joining themselves with that wretched Man, — who betrayed his Country, when in the Height of Glory and Reputation, to pave the Way for a Popish Pretender.

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